

CHAPTER TWO

CUSTOM-MADE ROME

THOMAS ASHBY SAW AS OF HIS ONE MAIN TASKS THAT OF ESTABLISHING a series of editions of *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*. He based the series primarily on the year printed on the title pages of the various copies he consulted. According to Ashby, then, a first edition appeared in 1612, and thereafter he identified seven, dating them to 1621, 1625, 1628, 1630, 1637, 1641, and 1699.¹ But a neat chronology like this can be deceptive. The notion of “editions” masks the evolution of a constantly altered product of which no single copy is identical.² Only in relation to exemplars dated 1637 and 1641 may one speak of “editions” in the sense that the folios are uniformly organized, paginated, and indexed.³ Ashby’s bibliographic construct dissolves on examination into a multitude of copies that at best forms a development *toward* a book. By whatever name the product takes, it continues to be repackaged, reorganized, re-engraved – in short, customized – in a process contradicting the standardization that Elizabeth Eisenstein described as resulting from the advent of printing.⁴ Only by degrees did *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* cross from a gift copy to a popular guidebook, from the courts of Europe to Rome’s booksellers.

The transformation of individually bound aristocratic collections of prints to a publication complete with translations into Italian, German, and French reflects a shift in the segment of customers and of a work gradually finding its form in response to the influx of tourists.⁵ The investigation in this chapter therefore goes in two directions. The first part explains how and why *Antiquae*

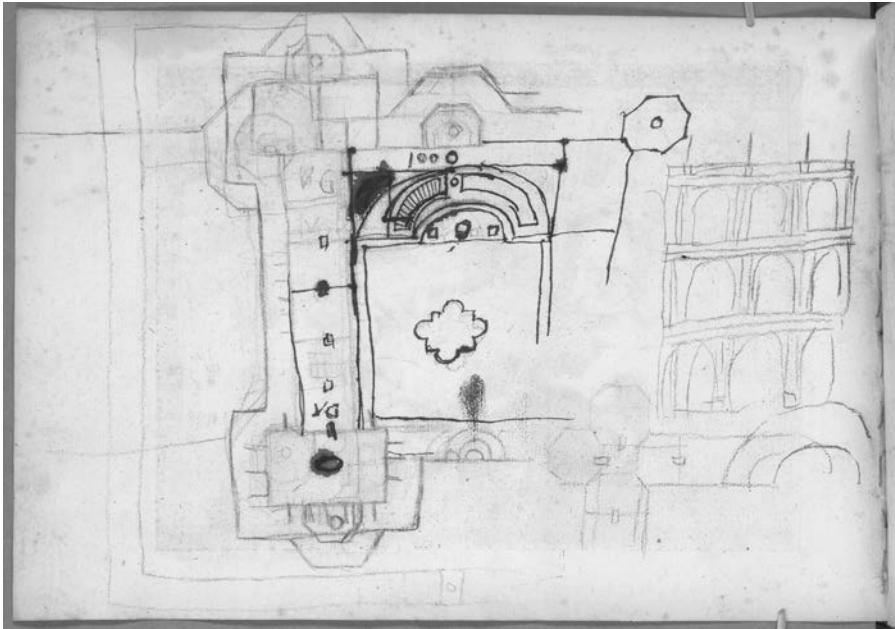
that King Sigismund III financed the first *libro* of *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*. Rome, more than anywhere else at the time, saw an international throng in transit, with Lauro positioned in the front row, gathering stereotypes for his prints. That the foreigners themselves were sights, at least to the locals, turns the perspective around. A print like the *Columna Miliaria* splits into a double vision because it represents in print a Roman antique and also the customers of such prints. Taking the cue from this refracted image, I shift the focus in this chapter from the reconstructions themselves to the folios that contain them. In the end, reconstructed Rome in Lauro's hand was too fragile, too dependent to manage to resist the demand of customers and the influence of commerce, ultimately being corrupted by it.

CUSTOMERS OF PRINTED ROME

Travelers from several nations picked up copies of *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* when they came to Rome: "Accepted by me in Rome on 15 July 1650," writes Gabriele Hersent in the copy he brought back to France, today held by the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.⁶ Ferdinand Albrecht, duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, bought a copy for 5 scudi while he stayed in Rome in 1662–63.⁷ The lucky duke even got Athanasius Kircher to guide him around the catacombs of Priscilla, but not for free; his father, the founder of the famous Wolfenbüttel library, had sent the Jesuit 100 scudi for looking after Ferdinand.⁸ The Swedish count and statesman Per Brahe, who traveled to Rome in the 1620s, acquired a copy that later was passed on to his nephew Nils Brahe, who went to Rome, too, in 1654.⁹ Another Swede, Count Bengt Oxenstierna, took with him not only Lauro's compendium but also Lafréry's *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* on his return to Sweden after visiting Rome in 1646.¹⁰

The majority of copies of *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* in European libraries derives no doubt from Grand Tour travelers who at one point bought them in Rome and put them in their luggage before heading back. And well into the eighteenth century the work was available, in demand, and, importantly, relevant:¹¹ A real discovery is the copy acquired by Nicodemus Tessin the Younger, probably during his visit to Rome in the 1670s. In it, the Swedish architect sketched a building in ink and pencil on the verso of one of the folios – to all accounts inspired by his leafing through Lauro's reconstructions (Fig. 29). The drawing is unpublished and represents Tessin's proposal for the rebuilding of the palace of Versailles, adding to the many plans the Swedes submitted to Louis XIV in the period.¹² A number of Lauro's reconstructions could have inspired the sketch.

Quite a number of these early seventeenth-century tourists went to see Lauro himself. We know their names because they signed Lauro's "Album Amicorum," a visitor's book of a kind that was quite common at the time.¹³



29. Nicodemus Tessin the Younger, plan and elevation for the palace of Versailles sketched on the reverse of a folio in Tessin's copy of Lauro's *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*, 1670s. Drawing in ink and pencil. Foto: Jens Östmann, Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm.

In the “Album” Lauro transcribed letters from illustrious contacts, but the major part consists of signed and dated greetings from more than two hundred travelers – Germans, Belgians, French, Englishmen, Danes, Swedes, and Poles. His “friends” cover a social spectrum from dukes to commoners, most of them in their early twenties, who stayed in Rome as part of a young man’s schooling. In contrast to Grand Tour travelers of the eighteenth century, education at this point in time consisted mostly of a formal curriculum and the requirement to establish contacts at foreign courts and military commands. Rome, of course, invited studies in language, art, and architecture too, although many of the visitors were already well versed in Latin or Italian when they got there – except perhaps for the English, who preferred to greet Lauro in their own language. For example, William Heterthon writes on April 27, 1624, that he has “sene the ingenuitie of S. nor. Jacomo Lauro and tasted the delicious fruits of his much to be commended labours.”¹⁴ What Heterthon and others saw when they visited Lauro were, of course, engravings – Lauro’s achievements in the “arte sculptoria” as the Dane Herman Vederling in 1622 and the English Bernhard Walcot in 1626 called his profession.¹⁵ Supreme among Lauro’s holdings was *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*, of which some visitors certainly bought the entire set and others only parts. Therefore the tour that Lauro offered was one that could be collected, bound, and reenacted in the close comfort of home.

The traces of Lauro's tourist friends in Rome lead farther, because some of them also signed another and much more elaborate visitor's book that belonged to the Swiss Guard and guide, Giovanni Alto.¹⁶ Alto, or Hans Hoch as he originally was named, came to Rome from Lucerne in Switzerland and entered the papal guard where he was to remain while he in parallel established a spectacularly successful career as a guide to Rome for visitors, mostly from Northern Europe. Nearly a thousand individuals called on Alto between 1606 and 1659 to judge from the number of greetings in his "Stammbuch."¹⁷ Alto's "Stammbuch" reaches a level of systematization, uniformity, and luxurious quality that far outshines that in Lauro's modest volume. The four gold-decorated and leather-bound volumes display a panorama not of Roman monuments, but of the tourists who came to see them, and testify to the industry that Alto turned guiding into. He drew large crowds and harvested promises of "eternal friendships" from tourists spellbound by the friendly and flamboyant cicerone (Plate I).

Thus, we find the name of Adolph, duke of Schleswig-Holstein, in both Lauro's "Album" and in Alto's "Stammbuch."¹⁸ In addition the German baron Carl Fugger of Kirchberg and Weissenhorn signed both albums in 1621, as did the North Italian baron Giovan Giorgio di Firmian, who testified to have met Lauro on April 22, 1627, and Alto two days later.¹⁹

A number of travelers signed the two albums even on the same day, which gives an extraordinary complete picture of a tourist's busy schedule four hundred years ago. Among them are Sten Svantesson Bielke who submitted a double autograph on March 30, 1620, as did Johannes Hallenus on March 28, 1625, and Ture Bielke on January 2, 1629 – all Swedes.²⁰ A group of Danish friends – Jan (Jens) Bille, Jacob Don, and Henrik Rantzau – left their names and commissioned coats of arms in both guest books on March 30, 1622.²¹ The studios of Lauro and Alto would, of course, be popular stops on any tourist itinerary in Rome, but these same-day visits reveal a degree of coordination that intriguingly suggests an organized connection.²²

Although they had different jobs, their clients were the same, and a remarkably detailed picture comes into view in which we are able to identify visitors who went sightseeing with Alto who also sponsored Lauro's prints. A little background is needed on this point, because a major portion of Lauro's revenues came from special donations, which he received in exchange for exclusively dedicated prints. Print production was expensive, not the least due to the cost of copper, and sponsorships were essential. As Michael Bury points out, the homage-for-cash was especially important for "independent masters with relatively small outputs."²³ Giuseppe de Rossi said about Lauro in 1635 that "it is the practice of the said Messer Giacomo to dedicate his works to Princes, Lords and various others and to give them impressions with the said dedications on paper, taffeta and satin in order to obtain presents from them."²⁴ In return for funding, then, Lauro incised his gratitude on the selected



30. Giacomo Lauro, Basilica of S. Peter's, 1st state, 1612–15, *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, EST-1325, fol. 127.

dedicatory prints, together with the patron's name and coat of arms. The idea of finding sponsors for single prints had apparently not yet crossed Lauro's mind when he produced the engraved reconstructions of *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*, or perhaps there was less to gain from monuments that no longer existed, which therefore had to be sold in series, than from existing ones that after all were icons of the day. It is only with *Antiquae Urbis Splendor's* "fourth" book, which held views of contemporary Rome, that prints with dedications appear, seven in total.²⁵ Customized prints of this kind are an under-researched field, and the following examples serve as preparation for a discussion of the patronages of Lauro's three books on reconstructed buildings.

For one, patrons rarely paid for the production of the actual print on which they were credited. An example is Lauro's image of the new S. Peter's, based on Matteo Greuter's original, which exists in three states. The first state depicts the basilica with no text incised on the plate (Fig. 30). A second state adds a description of the church in the cartouches (Fig. 31), whereas it is only in the third and final state that the dedication to a certain Hyacinth Kalencowich is included together with a representation of his coat of arms, Lauro's signature, and the date 1626 (Fig. 32).²⁶ Clearly Lauro engraved the plate long before he found a sponsor, and the money he would receive from Kalencowich went to subsidize future projects.

TOURISTS IN A VANISHED PAST

The collaboration between Lauro and Alto led to the extraordinary and mutual acknowledgment of one another in their respective works. Lauro enjoyed making coats of arms, and the artistic value of his “Album” attaches to the many painted weapons it contains, which Lauro drew and decorated for his new acquaintances. The “Album” holds the painted originals (if not also the direct models) of the coats of arms decorating the title pages to *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*’s three books on reconstructed Rome dedicated to Sigismund, king of Poland; Carlo Emanuele, duke of Savoy, and Ranuccio Farnese, duke of Parma and Piacenza (Plate II).³⁰ Heraldic motifs were a specialty of his, and at some point Lauro even considered making a book consisting entirely of coats of arms.³¹ The exact circumstance of how the elaborate shields in the “Album” were produced is hard to pin down. Perhaps he initially sketched only an outline, with completion depending on the “tokens” of gratitude. A few crests are indeed unfinished, and several folios show empty spaces where crests obviously were intended. The earliest greeting dates from 1618, whereas the majority are from the early 1620s when Lauro’s skill and precision as an artist of heraldry peaked. For there is no denying that his ability or interest in this kind of work somehow declined, and from the 1630s onward only a few coats of arms exist, with the last and poorly executed example dating from 1638.

Giovanni Alto was a gifted orator no doubt, but by all accounts he was no skilled draftsman. The gilded and multicolored coats of arms in the “Stammbuch” were produced over a period that covers nearly six decades during which the style and composition of the designs evolved and became increasingly standardized and accomplished, which suggests different hands at work. The heraldic weapons dating from the period between 1618 and 1629 constitute a distinct group that corresponds to Lauro’s style and also to the decade during which his activity and skill as an artist of heraldry reached a zenith. Lauro is certainly a strong contender for the position as a hired album painter in the early years of Alto’s career. That both visitor’s books contain identical crests, which correspond down to the level of detail, such as the ones of Duke Adolph and various members of the Fugger family, certainly points to Lauro as the maker. But an alliance of some kind rests most securely with the fact that Lauro himself autographed Alto’s “Stammbuch.” In a greeting dated June 29, 1618, he drew and decorated his (self-devised?) shield, figuring a gilded laurel (naturally) against a blue background (Plate III).³² Important, too, is the accompanying text in which Lauro greets Alto not as guide, but as his “very dear friend.” The final twist to Lauro’s infiltration of the “Stammbuch” is the proud identification of himself in it as the maker – “Autore et scultore” – of *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*. Amidst Alto’s spectacular series of visitors, he advertises his own series, equally spectacular, but of buildings.



36. Giacomo Lauro, view of Forum Romanum figuring the guide Giovanni Alto, *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* (Rome, 1615). Bibliotheca Hertziana – Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Rome.

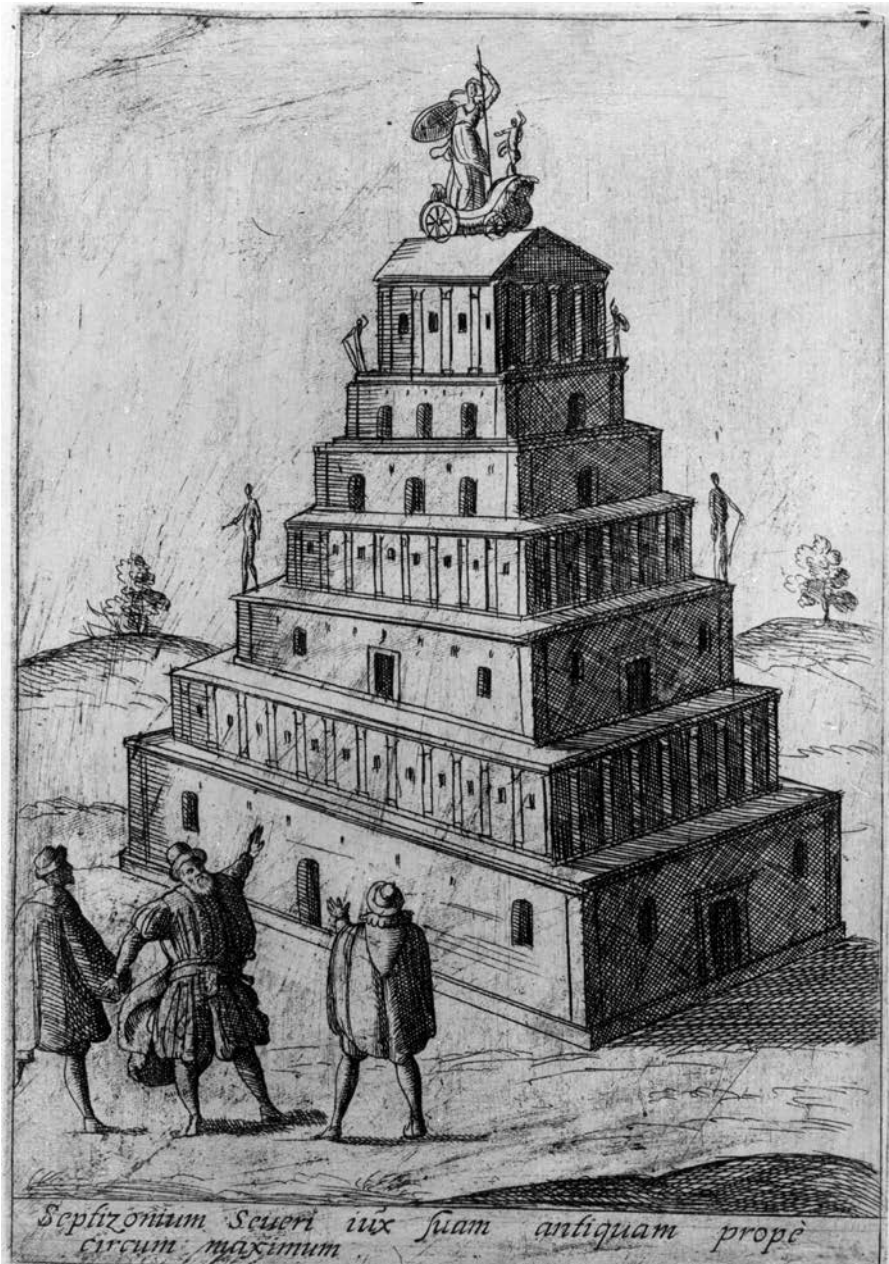
Autographs, coats of arms, and dedications leave a trail of tourists crisscrossing the businesses of the two crafty Roman residents. Seen jointly, their common enterprise blurred the distinctions between the reality of print and the real city, re-creating Rome as a continuum not in space, but in time, for the benefit of the tourist. By 1628, as mentioned, Lauro completed his “fourth” book on contemporary views of Rome. The monuments that he so carefully had reconstructed in the preceding set of three *libri* he now shows as they actually appeared. In a view of Forum Romanum, sightseeing as such has become a motif – alongside the half-buried ruins (Fig. 36). Visitors having toured with Alto would recognize their tall cicerone with his *pluderhose*, plumed hat, and ribbon-laced shoes. They would also recognize themselves in the group of European travelers surrounding him and whom Lauro had sorted by nationality in the *Columna Miliaria* print. This was not the first time Alto had been portrayed, but it was the first time he was shown guiding tourists in a compendium of prints that by the sequence it formed created a “tour” of its own. Lauro and Alto also figured in each other’s work: Just as Lauro’s advertisement of his magnum opus nestled within Alto’s catalog of tourists, so Alto reciprocally advertised his skills within Lauro’s collection of views.



37. Giacomo Lauro, *Meta Sudans*, *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* (Rome, 1615). British School at Rome Library, 611.L.5, fol. 85.

Alto was not the only guide represented in *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*. The print reconstructing the Meta Sudans shows Rome in ancient times (Fig. 37). Gathered around the famous sprouting fountain are women collecting water. Surprisingly, a group of people in seventeenth-century clothing enters from the side to mingle with the ancient Romans. One of the newcomers unfolds a banner written in German announcing “Hans Gross,” a citizen of Lucerne, and urging “pious, honest and dear Germans to come.”³³ The text below the picture confirms indeed the portrayal of Hans Gross, a man who “shows the antiquities of Rome to German and French nobles.”

Hans Gross, or Giovanni Grosso, also from Lucerne and also a Swiss Guard moonlighting as a guide, was Alto’s predecessor, if not his role model. In fact their identities overlap to a degree that some believe that Alto and Grosso in fact might be one and the same.³⁴ More important in this context is that the monument Grosso points to no longer existed. The Meta Sudans was a ruin already in the seventeenth century, with its last remains removed during the Fascist era. The same nonexistent sights are also posts on Grosso’s itinerary in Giovanni Maggi’s book on printed reconstructions, published in 1618, and in large part based on Lauro, as we saw in the previous chapter. In Maggi’s



38. Giovanni Maggi, *Septizonium, Aedificiorum et Ruinarum Romae ex Antiquis atque Hodiernis Monumentis* (Rome, 1618). Bibliotheca Hertziana – Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Rome.

frisky and impressionistic style, imitating sketches done on the spot, Grosso in his Swiss Guard costume is portrayed with parties of tourists, enthusiastically presenting buildings that had entirely vanished like the so-called Septizonium of Severus by the Palatine (Fig. 38).³⁵ These images break with a tradition in

sixteenth-century antiquarian prints in which the figure of the “artist” is shown in the act of drawing the monument: The insertion of the illustrator with stylus and paper in hand arguably secured the idea of a link to actual observation for the as yet rather novel and “mechanized” graphic art. However, the Baroque period was not as concerned with the legitimacy of the medium and sought instead to colonize the past with representatives of an emerging profession. The figure of the artist is replaced by the figure of the guide, vouching for imagined antiquities often whimsically conceived by engravers who knew little of archaeology and who easily could be accused of fabricating the past. The fantasy seemed somehow less unreal in the presence of a cicerone who was there to point it out.

Why the Meta Sudans and the Septizonium were chosen as subjects in these prints I cannot say, but they emerge as visual arguments that counterbalance the utterly nonexistent with the all-too familiar. Not only do these prints hinge the monuments’ entire existence on the guide describing it but they also show how the integrity of ancient Rome as a historical past erodes from within, invaded by time-traveling tour guides and visitors. Threats to ancient Rome’s fragile constitution in guidebooks came from many sides. Giovanni Alto was not content with merely figuring in Lauro’s prints; he also bought the entire stack of copperplates and financed a reissue of *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* in 1637.³⁶ Thus we witness a spectacular transition of the persona of Alto from a figure within Lauro’s pictured view to a real-world protagonist acquiring the material of which that view formed a part. It is an exponentiation of a presence that is truly Baroque. At this point Lauro had lost ownership of his early magnum opus, and had moved onto other projects, which required a new cast in the process of reissuing *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*. Alto was not the publisher of the work – that was Vitale Mascardi – but in a preface addressed to the reader, dated 1637, Alto makes it clear that it is *he* who with great cost and effort reassembled plates that were dispersed and had them renovated. He improved and enriched the work, too, he says, by adding edifices and giving the prints an “easier and more convenient order,” although in reality no new architectural images appeared. The new order simply means that he rearranged the prints according to building types – the temples first, then the arches, the baths, the gardens, and so on. Interestingly, Rome is now reorganized entirely for the benefit of the reader – sitting in his or her library – not for anyone actually touring the city. Alto projected a hierarchical order onto Lauro’s monuments, like the one he projected onto his visitors in the rearranged sequence of folios in the “Stammbuch” volumes – starting with the most esteemed and ending with the least important.

Having acquired *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*, Alto had secured both ends of the tourist business in an emporium that monopolized the image of restored Rome for the Roman High Baroque. The enterprise was hugely successful,

and after only four years he financed yet another edition, the only visible change being a new preface and the addition of decorative frames to certain folios. Importantly, the publisher also changed, which probably explains the reissue in the first place. Andrea Fei replaced Vitale Mascardi, because Fei had obtained a series of valuable privileges that prohibited rivals from making and selling copies. Fei's privileges (not to be confused with Lauro's, which at this point had expired) meant that Alto could relaunch the popular prints with a very useful copyright. For by this time the Lauro reconstructions had captured the imagination of Rome's artists and architects who scanned antiquarian prints for fresh interpretations of the past: Borromini, for example, quoted *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* as a source on ancient architecture; Alessandro Algardi turned its engravings into stucco reliefs when he decorated the ceiling of Camillo Pamphili's villa in Rome; and above all, publishers and engravers eagerly exploited the work's quarry of architectural motifs.³⁷ But as Alto was well aware, the majority of prints would be dispersed with tourists returning *oltremontane* – beyond the Alps – and would serve as evidence of Rome's grandeur: Considering that mere words failed to convey the ancient “marvels,” Alto declared in the new 1641 preface, Lauro's prints would aid the returning traveler to bolster his account to those back home. Imperial Rome was about to reconquer old territories, not with legions but with publications.

Clearly, Lauro's own panegyric of the new empire of print is more than rhetoric as copies of his work now spread across the European continent: “I am telling the truth,” he writes in the 1625 dedication of a reprint to Prince Vittorio Amadeo of Savoy, “when I am saying that by a long measure this very noble [*Antiquae Urbis*] *Splendor* has increased the glory of Rome by way of representation more than real Rome managed through expanding as an empire in nature.”³⁸ Ancient Rome graphically reconstructed was about to outshine the original.

Before Bengt Oxenstierna returned home with his copy of *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*, he went sightseeing with Alto and signed the “Stammbuch” on March 6, in 1647, as the Swiss Guard's “very affectionate friend and servant.”³⁹ Oxenstierna, then, is the ideal example of the Baroque customer who continued the tour of antiquity on its second leg, which extended into the realm of printed folios. Leafing through the work he would see not only emperors and senators but also tourists like himself strolling among gloriously complete antique structures, as if the boundaries of time itself had dissolved.

The visual standardization of guides and tourists fascinatingly imprints the motifs of a flourishing business on the very products that served it. Having a guided tour and then buying prints in which the tour was pictured place the experience of sightseeing on a meta-level. Visitors looked at engraved views from which other visitors looked back: German, French, Swedes, and

perhaps Brazilians returned home with images not only of the city but also of themselves in it, like prefabricated snapshots. So convinced was Lauro of his prints' global reach that he let foreigners within the image communicate to others "outside" it in their common tongue: "Kompt her, kompt her!" exclaims the group of Germans surrounding the Meta Sudans to potential visitors at home. Paradoxically, it is not to actual Rome that they invite their countrymen, but to a Rome existing in a distant past, sealed off in a two-dimensional image. It is this attempt to establish a continuum between the viewer and the viewed that Mieke Bal sees as a novel Baroque self-reflection: "The primary characteristic of a baroque point of view is that the subject becomes vulnerable to the object." Returning to the point I made at the beginning of this chapter, the compendium's transformation into a book occurs in response to the tourist market while it also projects that market reality onto the ancient city. It turns the context of its very existence into a motif, and the "point of view seems to bite its own tail: it becomes a point of view on the 'point of view.'"⁴⁰ Indeed, perspectives intermingle in *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*, or more precisely, dimensions conflate. For Lauro, Alto, and Grosso, in a joint effort and across various reissues, orchestrate a totality and attempt to break down the barriers between reality and representation, between past and present.

Antiquity is seen less as a historical past than as a *region*, a parallel domain that one may enter with a guide and indeed from where others may be seen to emerge: Among Lauro's foreign travelers in the *Columna Miliaria* print, no one is more foreign – or more at home – than the ancient Roman to the left of the column. He "travels" from somewhere else too (see Fig. 28).

COLLECTORS' ROME

To play up to visitors and potential sponsors as openly as Lauro did was a commercial necessity. The series of reconstructions was costly to produce, and the need for donations resulted in an ancient Rome refashioned at the mercy of, even as a tribute to, patrons. Baroque antiquity, then, is a past that is paid for. The decoration, dedication, and customization of prints testify to the need for money and a business that offered ancient Rome in different tailored versions.

The point is that *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* as a guidebook was the final result of a gradual editing of a work that initially circulated only among elites. Engulfed by an increasingly streamlined succession of editions, the outline and function of such an original work have been lost and consequently ignored. When focusing on that elusive first product, not only the idea of an edition but also the idea of a "publication" evaporates. An "editio princeps" dissolves into a series of copies where none are exactly alike, where the selection and

sequence of prints vary, and their organization reflects no meaningful principle in particular, although a certain preestablished order does reign. They were all bound differently, or not bound at all, but sent in *cassette*, which must be understood simply as small boxes.⁴¹ Occasionally, Lauro did not even print the images on paper – a precondition for a market-oriented publication – but on taffeta and silk. Thus, a discussion points in two directions: One follows the gradual making of a book, through successive editions, and the other points to a product that precedes the idea of a publication in the first place – at least in any conventional sense. The answer to what kind of product that might be leads us deep into Lauro's transactions with Europe's most illustrious courts. Kings and nobles became first-class passengers on Lauro's time travel to ancient Rome. But it was a tour that would cost them.

Lauro's ancient Rome was conceived with patrons in mind. It was "erected" on the foundations of aristocratic sponsorship and negotiated through the exchange of money for dedications. This does not rule out the commercial side of *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*; probably Lauro planned all along to make a double profit. But a too simple definition of a "book" is in danger of overlooking nuances of a work initially designed and organized to please and impress patrons.⁴² Patronage conditioned not only the formation of the opus but in the final instance also the look of some of its monuments, as shall become clear. Following the history of sponsored reconstructions, the improvised and sporadic attempts by Lauro to cash in on his production became systematized with the publications of Athanasius Kircher. Indeed, patronage as such became a theme that Kircher projected onto the ancient past, like Lauro did with the idea of sightseeing, both thus presenting an antiquity that seems to have its origins in the book trade.

Lauro's division of *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* into three separate *libri* – dedicated in successive order to Sigismund of Poland, Carlo Emanuele of Savoy, and Ranuccio Farnese – was far more than a mere aesthetic choice. It is the backbone of his enterprise and a key to understanding the work. Of course, the subdivision of architectural works into *libri* had been a formula since Vitruvius and was codified in the treatises of Alberti, Serlio, and Palladio in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. However, both the ancient and the Renaissance sequences of "books" progressed thematically, each book treating a subject separate from, and yet in continuation of, the previous one – in a manner consistent with the idea of "chapters." In contrast, Lauro's three *libri* exist independently of each other. Although similarly produced, they are self-contained and constitute individual "collections" separated by dedicatory prints and engraved portraits. In contrast to the small-scale dedications of single prints, which I have discussed, the books on reconstructed Rome lifted patronage to a new level and landed valuable sponsorships of entire series. That a king and two dukes each eventually agreed to let between thirty to forty prints attach to their names was a

triumph and an unparalleled feat among publications on ancient Rome. To get there, however, Lauro needed a great deal of persistence, patience, and personal investment. But more important still, as we shall see, were the adjustments he made to the monuments themselves to accommodate his patrons.

The great cost of producing *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* placed an independent engraver like Lauro in a dilemma, which is why works of such caliber seldom were to appear in the seventeenth century: On the one hand, potential patrons would hardly promise money without seeing an example of the work, and on the other, the artist would not likely take the risk of producing costly plates without the prospect of being paid. With *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*, Lauro took a considerable financial risk, executing nearly all the plates before even approaching potential patrons. In other words, he sought patronage to cover expenses that he had already incurred. Lauro contrived the division into books, introduced by dedications, not to clarify aspects of Roman architecture, but to portion out the series in correspondence to donations sufficiently small to be realistic. Lauro's ancient Rome emerged from tough transactions couched in courtly phrases and carved out of subtly differentiated presentation copies that easily might be confused with and indeed thrown into the category of a first edition.

The futile attempt to establish a first edition derives from the year "1612" printed on the frontispiece on many early copies of *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*.⁴³ This date, however, is an unstable reference indeed, because prints were reworked and redated at need, often in response to copies prepared for important clients. For example, a frontispiece exists with the year "1610" printed on it, and in the copies Ashby counted as "first editions" only one of eight dated prints was made *before* 1612, whereas the rest dates from the period 1613–15.⁴⁴ Abandoning the restrictive idea of a fixed first edition enables a panorama of early copies to open up in which each fulfilled a different function. More precisely, the product was customized to serve successive stages in the procuring of money, inviting an archaeological investigation through the strata of copies that one hopes will lead back to the work's genesis.

The top layer is represented by collectors. A group of buyers who might never have visited Rome was made up of European bibliophiles who acquired Lauro's prints for their libraries and assembled them in their own costly bindings. One prominent collector was Jacques-Auguste de Thou, who built up one of France's finest private collection at the time.⁴⁵ His copy of *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*, compiled sometime in the late 1620s, comes in an elegant French leather binding with Jacques-Auguste's coat of arms emblazoned in gold on the front cover.⁴⁶ Other French collectors acquiring Lauro's oeuvre were Jacques and Pierre Dupuy, who were well connected in Rome through their brother Christophe, and who also engraved the family's crest on the volume.⁴⁷ Indeed,

Antiquae Urbis Splendor was extremely well received in France, according to a contemporary source.⁴⁸

Distinct from the copies that travelers picked up, and collectors ordered, were the ones Lauro himself targeted at the aristocratic elite. The catalog entries in various European libraries disclose early and specially addressed custom copies expedited to attract grand donations. They show how Lauro brazenly courted the sovereigns of Europe, equipping the gifts with decorative covers, and in the attempt stretched his funds to the limits: The complete set of reconstructions expedited to Louis XIII of France around 1615 reached the king in a beautiful Italian brown leather binding engraved with the monarch's coat of arms in gold on both covers (Plate IV). The binding suggests that the manufacture by all accounts was Roman and at great cost was paid for by Lauro himself.⁴⁹ A slightly different approach can be discerned from the copy of *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* that derives from the royal collection in Berlin and testifies to Lauro's attempt to capture the interest of the reigning elector of Brandenburg (and later kings in Prussia). The ambition is not evident from the existing and very simple binding adorned with the Brandenburg eagle (the original binding is probably lost), but from Lauro's very careful rearrangement of the content to create an encomium by the sheer selection and reorganization of the prints.⁵⁰ The copy includes prints that date to as late as 1618, but the shrewd Roman engraver was careful to leave out any indication of the royal support he already had received by this time – namely from the Polish king – retaining only the dedications to the lower ranked dukes. So, lining up privileges from the pope and the imperial majesty, as well as images of laurels, triumphs, and other caesarean motifs, he made it seem as if a royal patron for Book I was still – and glaringly – missing. The rhetoric that there was room for *one* elector-king, even if it was only in Lauro's paper dominions, reflects on the level of the division of *libri* the observance of strict social structures dominating seventeenth-century culture at large.

Sometimes Lauro's investment in gift copies paid off, although not by much, as is evident from the single gold coin sent by the Polish Jakub Radzic in return for the "Antichità di Roma."⁵¹ And sometimes nothing was gained, which becomes clear in the politely phrased rejection from the Grand Master of the Order of Malta of August 6, 1617, as well as in the replies – or rather lack of them – from the French and German sovereigns, whom we just saw received copies, because letters from them surely would appear transcribed in Lauro's "Album" alongside the correspondence with other prominent people.⁵² But funding at this stage would, of course, be mere bonus money. The crucial phase in Lauro's quest for cash began years earlier, when the copies he would need to produce were not gifts of material he had already made, but teasers of what he was able to envision.

PRINTS FOR PRINCES

The correspondence transcribed in Lauro's "Album" shows how closely his series of "books" tie to their respective patrons. The genesis of Lauro's publication lies entangled in the web of requests, rejections, approvals, and bargaining that makes up the content of Lauro's correspondence. These origins might offer a taxing read, because they are found in condensed material and require the sorting of minutiae, but the reward is new insights into the processes of early modern book production. To reconstruct a chronology not of the making of the prints, but of the *libri* in which they were ordered, reorders ancient Rome too, as it now came to be divided among three modern-day princes.

Members of the Savoy family were among Lauro's most consistent patrons. The duke himself, Carlo Emanuele, began to fund Lauro as early as 1609 and became a key patron of *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*. But his sons also took an interest in the work: In 1621 Prince Vittorio Amadeo paid for translations of the original Latin into Italian, French, and German and the required re-engraving.⁵³ A few years later Lauro approached the second son, Cardinal Maurizio, reminding him (in an undated printed preface to *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*) that not only had his father raised a considerable amount of money for this publication but his brother also had contributed money.⁵⁴ The mild pressure obviously worked, because Maurizio donated a sum that earned him a tribute on the title page to Lauro's "fourth" book, *Antiquae Urbis Vestigia*, published in 1628, and again on the title page to a "fifth" – dedicated to the cardinal in 1635 – thus concluding nearly three decades of Savoy sponsorship of Lauro.⁵⁵ Perhaps it was more than courtly phrasing when a third brother, Tomaso, told Lauro that he was a "person held very dear in this house."⁵⁶ For the Piedmont duchy saw early on a reflection of their legitimacy and aspiration in Lauro's ancient Rome.

But the affection was won only after long, consistent attention. When *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* finally came out, Lauro in the preface dated 1614 publicly expressed his gratitude to Carlo Emanuele, "who in the last months with a large donation has made me learn that his beneficence by no means falls short of his generosity."⁵⁷ The "months" to which Lauro refers say a bit about the courting required, because the "large donation" was by no means easily obtained, and as we shall see, Lauro repeatedly reformatted the work to ease negotiations which is evident from his correspondence. Both the portrait of the duke and the dedicatory plate are signed 1613, signaling an early contact; in fact, as early as 1609, the duke's secretary, Bernadino Bareta, writes in an obvious reply to Lauro that if he wishes to dedicate a "bell'opera" to the duke, he should communicate the cost to the Savoy prince's ambassador.⁵⁸ This is the first time the question of sponsorship of *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*

is raised, but it was also at this point that Lauro's sales campaign started. Specially compiled copies were sent out far and wide to attract donators. For example, the duke of Urbino writes to Lauro in October 1612 to thank him for "[t]he first book with engravings of the ancient things of Rome," and in December of the same year the Grand Marshal of Poland sends a similar note of gratitude.⁵⁹ But no one was willing to open his purse except one person: the duke of Savoy. On December 17, 1612 Lauro gets a reply from the duke's official, Honoratio Claretti, saying that His Highness had received the book and was much pleased with the work. In fact, Carlo Emanuele took a great interest in this kind of material and acquired in the same period Ligorio's twenty-three-volume manuscript "Antichità Romane," which contained several drawings of reconstructed buildings.⁶⁰ Lauro's book even resolved a dispute that had erupted among the duke and a learned gathering concerning certain antiquities, Claretti continues, which reveals the authority that Lauro's images exerted in high circles.⁶¹ Unfortunately, the particular copy Lauro sent to Savoy is nowhere to be located, but nonetheless I argue it represents *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* in its primordial version, as an attractive sample tailored for a likely patron.⁶²

When the Savoy secretary again writes to Lauro (on January 20, 1614) it is to tell him that the duke and his family have received "the box with the books inside" – "books" in plural – which the duke's son, Cardinal Maurizio, especially had appreciated and who therefore offers to help produce the "recognition" that Lauro wished.⁶³ Also the duke's third son, Tomaso, writes to thank Lauro for the pair of books presented "in the name of His Highness my Lord and father."⁶⁴ So Lauro, surprisingly, produced *two* books in the name of Savoy for which he requested payment, both dedicated to Carlo Emanuele. Given that the agreement with the duke originally was for one book, the attempt to have him pay for two is revealing of Lauro's insistent marketing: What probably happened was that, encouraged by a positive response from the Savoy he hastened to engrave the dedicatory plate and a portrait of the duke, both having the year 1613 printed on them (Fig. 39). Trying his luck, he then added a number of prints, producing two books, possibly using the Savoy dedication twice and also the ducal portrait, while he engraved a new title page (also dated 1613) as an introduction to the hastily assembled *Liber Secundus* – an outline roughly matching a copy in the Vatican Library.⁶⁵ He then sent presentation copies of this version to the duke and his two sons sometime in late 1613.

But it was a gamble. On May 23, 1614, the duke's secretary relates the news that Carlo Emanuele will grant Lauro 200 scudi for the labor and obedience he has demonstrated.⁶⁶ What can that sum tell us? Michael Bury estimates that at Lauro's time the cost of making one engraving, including the acquisition of the plate, was 7 scudi. Lauro's own statement that it cost him about 40



39. Giacomo Lauro, dedication to Carlo Emanuele I, duke of Savoy, *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* (Rome, 1615). British School at Rome Library, 611.L.5, fol. 41.

scudi to make one single plate probably exaggerated the expense.⁶⁷ Assuming that 7 scudi was an average price, 200 scudi would cover the expense of labor and material for about thirty plates, almost the exact number in one *libro* in *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*.⁶⁸ The Savoy donation thus covered the cost of making one book, but significantly, not the cost of making two. Lauro had placed a high bet, and won average.

So by 1614 only one *libro* had been funded, and Savoy was still the work's sole patron: In the preface of that year Lauro significantly thanks the duke – and only the duke – for his generosity over the last months. Surely, it would be a grave offense if there were other donators at the time whom Lauro simply ignored. The king of Poland, Sigismund III, who eventually became the patron of the first *libro*, entered the picture as late as 1615 – or reentered it, to be exact. For Sigismund had also taken an early interest in *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*. As early as 1609 he must have agreed to be a patron, because in that year Lauro engraved his portrait (with the year printed on it) and an elaborate dedication to the majesty (Fig. 40).⁶⁹ So what caused that agreement to be broken? The probable answer surfaces in a letter that Sigismund's representative,



40. Giacomo Lauro, dedication to Sigismund III, king of Poland, *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* (Rome, 1615). British School at Rome Library, 611.L.5, fol. 2.

Michael Becanus, wrote to Lauro in April 1616 telling him that the first copy never arrived and that the king only obtained one when someone returning from Rome brought with him three copies, of which the monarch took one. Becanus therefore asks Lauro to send a copy to substitute for it.⁷⁰ A package that never reached its destination could have made Lauro mistakenly believe that the king had lost interest in the book, which is why he then approached other patrons. In any case, by September 1617, the king's son, to whom Lauro dedicated a later edition of the book, wrote and thanked Lauro for dedicating what had now become Book I of *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* to his father.⁷¹ The Polish patronage was settled at last, but later than expected, and most likely sometime in 1615. In general, the risks and stakes involved in the process of attracting sponsors show the hazardous monumentality of Lauro's project and the force of his determination. This was not a mere question of assembling plates, like Lafréry had done, but of engraving each one in advance in the hope of having the expenses refunded.

Finding someone to bill for the leftover plates was all that now remained. And luckily, things went smoothly with the third and final book of Roman

monuments. On February 6, 1615 Ranuccio Farnese, duke of Parma and Piacenza, writes to inform Lauro that he has received a *libro* – not specifying which one – accompanied by a letter, and Ranuccio seems willing to reward the enterprise.⁷² After this encouraging response, and perhaps after receiving some money, Lauro engraved the dedicatory plate to Farnese, as well as his portrait. In December that year Lauro received a second letter with Farnese's thanks for the *third* book – “il terzo libro delle cose heroiche de Romani.”⁷³ In this case, a concept of a “third book” was synonymous with a dedicatory plate, because in contrast to the two previous books, Lauro here combined a dedication with the title page in one single print (Fig. 41). It is a significant sign of an enterprise nearing its completion: When Lauro came to Farnese he no longer needed a separate and anonymously addressed title page like the ones he had attached to the different copies sent to patron candidates; by then he had already dedicated the majority of prints and so had covered most of his expenses. Now it sufficed to add a preface to the duke, a plain unadorned text celebrating the deeds and virtues of the Farnese family, which he obviously wrote on reaching an agreement with Ranuccio. Thus, all things considered, Book III – created in a last-minute operation in late 1615 – put an end to a long and complicated hunt for patrons begun years earlier to reimburse Lauro for the costs of producing a staggering number of engraved monuments.

All three dedications contain lists that announce the monuments that follow in respective *libri*, although with varying degrees of specificity. The first two dedications herald the upcoming buildings by reference to mere types – theaters, circuses, arches, and so on – wallowing in an as yet unlimited reservoir of prints, whereas the third and last dedication lists each print individually; at this late stage Lauro knew exactly what remained in stock. Ultimately, the connection between dedications and the actual sequences of images reveals the calculated build-up of each *libro* in Lauro's paper Rome. The three “regions” recreated in *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* reflect less the ancient empire than two duchies and a kingdom projected onto the past.

To recapitulate: Lauro had completed the majority of his architectural prints by 1609, at which point he began to search for patrons. From 1612 onward, he sent selections of prints, equipped with title pages to candidates such as the duke of Urbino. Then, in 1613 or 1614, after having secured financial support, he made a dedication copy of two books to the duke of Savoy, and in 1615 he made one to the duke of Parma and Piacenza. Sometime in between, he renewed his contact with the king of Poland, perhaps because of insufficient funding by Savoy, subsequently rededicating Book I to the king, which he in fact originally had intended. Only by the end of 1615 did *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* reach a general audience: On December 29 that year the Venetian Republic granted a privilege for the work, which failed to make it in time



41. Giacomo Lauro, dedication to Ranuccio Farnese, duke of Parma and Piacenza, *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* (Rome, 1615). British School at Rome Library, 611.L.5, fol. 85.

for inclusion in any existing copies qualifying as a first edition.⁷⁴ This suggests that the book was published – in the conventional sense of the word – before the granting of the privilege, but after the agreement with Farnese, sometime in mid-1615. It was certainly available in April 1616, when the Polish agent picked up three copies in Rome; two months later, on June 6 that year, Claretti writes, “I am happy that your books on the antiquity of Rome are finished.”⁷⁵ The kind of work preceding the widely distributed souvenir book is of an altogether different nature. In fact, produced in the period 1612–15 are three slightly varying types of presentation copies: (1) a sample sent out to attract donors, (2) a courtesy to the book’s patron, and (3) a gift, exclusively bound, to endear kings and nobles.

In this perspective, then, the “first edition” does not represent the beginning of a long history of publications, but the closing chapter of an enigmatic collection of material designed to accommodate patrons, variously guised as aristocratic presentation copies. Paula Findlen and Adrian Johns have disclosed similar structures in early seventeenth-century book production, with examples from the fields of natural science and astronomy.⁷⁶ Both stress how gift copies in courtly circles established a bond between patron and author

and a sense of ownership to the ideas voiced. What I wish to add with this example from antiquarian literature is that gift copies in fact never ceased to be produced. No sharp divide exists between the gift copy and the commercial book; the divide goes between gift copies *themselves* – or, rather, those gift copies segment into finely differentiated versions responding to a series of unique author–customer relations. It is impossible to say at what point, or indeed with which copy, that *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* “fell into the hands of commercial printers.”⁷⁷ Even as the printing of copies speeded up, they continued to be composed on a made-to-order basis, although for a lower stratum of sponsors like Roll and Schmidt – the two young Swiss – instead of royals.

It would therefore go too far to say that Lauro invented this kind of patron’s product, but the product represents a discovery in the studies on Lauro and indeed of Roman print history. The proliferation of an apparently uniform book into various ones shows a publication industry still on the brink between a collector’s culture, represented by *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*, and the world of tourism. Athanasius Kircher would be no less sensitive to the necessity of patrons. On the contrary, he went from hunting for patrons to making patronage itself a motif, as I describe in Chapter 5. In short, the history of printed antiquarianism in the Baroque is also about increasingly entangled relations between printmakers and patrons, between the past and the purposes that past could serve.

ANTIQUITY IN FUTURE’S GUISE

The meanderings in correspondence, transactions, and subtly differentiated types of copies show the strong grip in which patrons held Lauro’s fragile *Roma antica* and the power they potentially had over the outcome. The reorganization of prints to flatter ambitious princes and to intensify their sense of connection to antique heroes merely scratches the surface of Lauro’s efforts to accommodate his sponsors. Although he had executed the majority of prints for *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* by 1609, mailing test copies here and there, he had not completed the entire series. In fact we know that several of the monuments were designed at the last minute, because they copy features from projects that at the time were in the process of being built. In an extraordinarily radical take on antiquarianism, Lauro saves particular reconstructions for the last in order to promote not the antique sites, but contemporary projects in the guise of antiques. History itself is made to bend its curve at Lauro’s service.

Until Lauro’s days, compendiums on antiquities compiled monuments in sequences based on a clear logic; they could be typological (like most copies of *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*), chronological (such as Fabio Calvo’s *Roma cum Regionibus Simulachrum*), alphabetical (Ligorio’s “Antichità Romane”), or

geographical (Marliano's *Antiquae Romae Topographia*). But *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* yields no clear pattern unless the three individual *libri* are considered in isolation. Although reduced to anachronisms in the later reorganization of *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*, the dedications and title pages, their inclusion so carefully calculated, form the grid in the repartition of Lauro's empire in print. The flattering words, the coats of arms, the lists of promised buildings – indeed the division into three *libri* as such – hold the key to understanding the lost significance of Lauro's ambitions and, in a grander perspective, the Baroque reappropriation of ancient Rome.

All three books include among the primary folios prints representing imperial and triumphal subjects, conjuring up images such as the ancestral tree of Julius Caesar, victorious troops, typologies of crowns, and laurels. They spell out illustrious deeds and persons, projecting “mini-Romes” onto far-off courts, inscribing upstart principalities by twists of pedigree in a Roman imperial history. Thus, Lauro's entanglement in a network of patrons led him to redouble the eternal city, styling new “Caesars” and himself, if not as a new “Vitruvius,” so at least as an architect-author offering an illustrated manual for building classically. If anything, the organization in *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* is political.

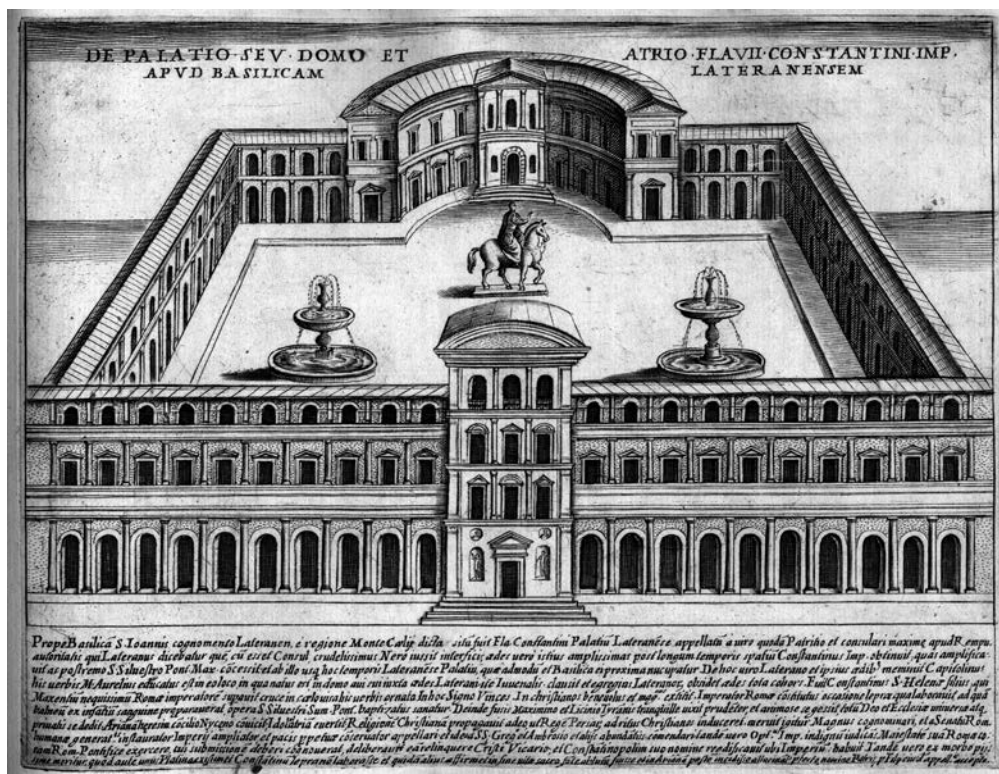
However, in the effort to prepare the pagan models for their seventeenth-century debut, he presented the patrons not only in continuation of the ancient emperors but at the same time also as their superiors, being specifically Christian successors. It is no coincidence that the first edifice included in the book dedicated to Carlo Emanuele of Savoy is the Temple of Honor and Virtue. Both the text and image set a moral standard for the conduct of a modern prince and promote the edifice as a model to be erected also in the soul, advising sovereigns to “build in their souls similar temples of Honor and Virtue.”⁷⁸ With a similar moral reminder Lauro introduces the book to Ranuccio Farnese with the disturbing Prophecy of Daniel, which proclaimed the temporality of the Roman Empire, in a clear warning of the hubris of earthly power.⁷⁹ Both of these images reappear in the discussion, but for the moment they serve to illustrate how far Lauro was willing to go in the celebration (and education) of real and potential patrons.

“May Parma be your second Rome,” writes Lauro in the dedication of Book III to Ranuccio Farnese: Already the dedication flaunts Lauro's aim to create double realms, a modern duchy overlapping an ancient empire. However, by 1615 it was obvious that Ranuccio never would complete a new Rome of the Po Valley, like Vespasiano Gonzaga almost had succeeded in doing a few decades earlier in neighboring Sabbioneta. In fact, several large projects only seemed to drag on. The rebuilding of both the Palazzo della Pilotta in Parma and the Palazzo Farnese in Piacenza were still underway by 1610 – when Lauro put the finishing touches on his book – but both renovation

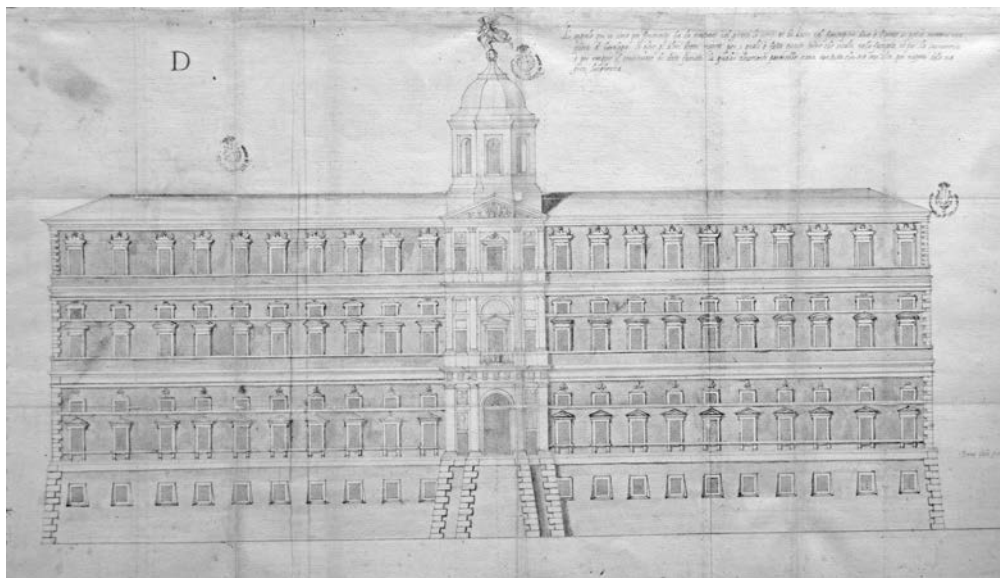
projects were abandoned soon afterward. So, the ingenious solution Lauro provided was not to make Parma a second Rome, but to make Rome look like a first Parma. Time flows backward in Lauro's reconstructions, letting the appearances of various antiques originate from a source that was fundamentally modern.

Just as the imperial triumph, portrayed at the bottom of the Farnese dedication, proceeds from Parma to ancient Rome, so does Lauro in engraving transports architectural models from the Farnese dominions to select sites in the old but vanished imperial capital. Linking Ranuccio to the triumphant emperors in general would certainly boost the ego of the shifty monarch, its effect possibly exceeded only by a specific link to an emperor who was also Christian, namely Constantine. Crowning imperial grandeur with the halo of Christian piety captured the ideal of the ultimate Baroque statesman. One should not forget that the late *pater familias* Alessandro Farnese, who became Pope Paul III, had been an ardent reformer in the strengthening of Catholic faith. In addition, one of Lauro's Farnese correspondents (probably Ranuccio's brother Odoardo) held the title of cardinal.

The Palace of Constantine seems designed or, at least, reserved for inclusion in the *libro* dedicated to Farnese, and the image exemplifies the elaborate thought behind an apparent schematic form. According to Lauro, it occupied the site of the Lateran church, which is why he includes the famous equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, once standing on the site and long thought to portray Constantine (Fig. 42). The architecture, however, is not ancient at all, but is inspired by the Palazzo Farnese in Piacenza, designed in the 1550s by Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola and, as mentioned, nearing completion under its new owner, Ranuccio Farnese (Fig. 43). Vignola's design offers a prototype both for the striking exedra that ends Lauro's inner courtyard and for the central outspring on the façade; even the number of bays – ten to each side – corresponds.⁸⁰ Lauro's "Romanization" of the design aligned the Farnese palace with an esteemed ancient prototype; the palace was simply too incomplete to be able to contradict Lauro's foresighted solution. Clearly, temporality was an element Lauro counted on and twisted to his advantage. The *raison d'être* of the reconstruction's artful combination was to capture an important project at the moment it was being built. The penchant of Baroque painting and sculpture to freeze an event or movement at the high point of its unfolding thus finds a parallel in Baroque reconstructions. For a brief period of time, the same ideal form combined a monument not yet built with one that no longer existed. In other words, to speculate on the appearance of a building while no one yet knew precisely how it would turn out could make a wild guess seem like an option, as long as uncertainty reigned. To look for exact correspondences between the buildings in Baroque Rome and Lauro's reinvented



42. Giacomo Lauro, Palace of Constantine, *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* (Rome, 1615). British School at Rome Library, 611.L.5, fol. 106.

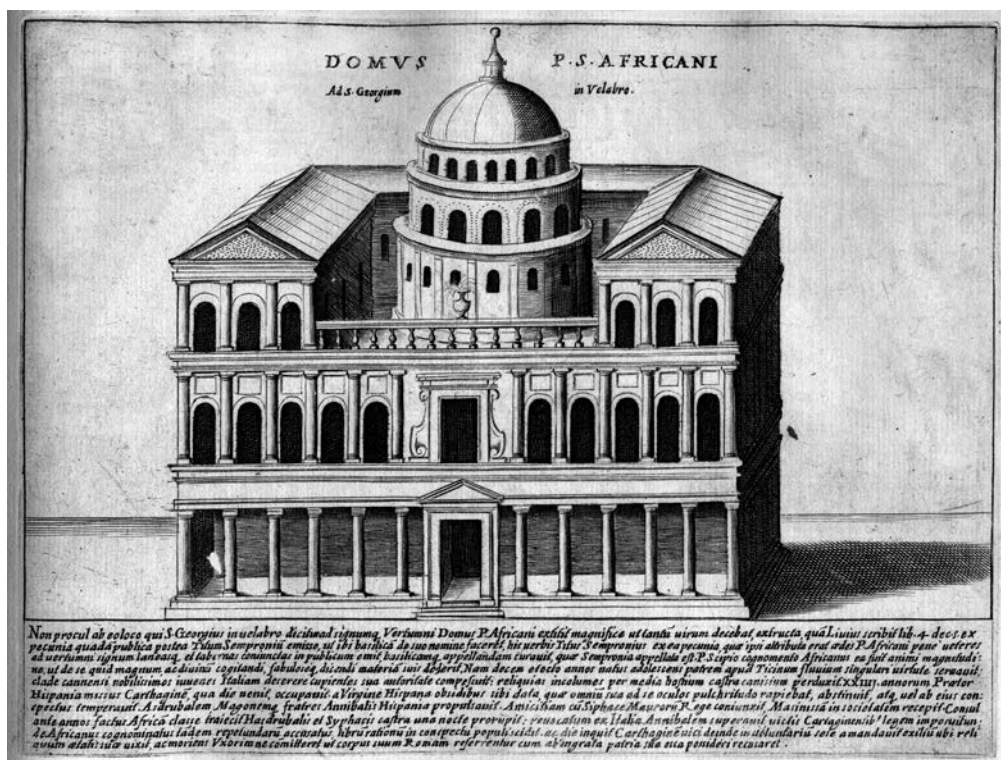


43. Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, project for the façade of the Farnese palace in Piacenza, 1561. Drawing. Archivio di Stato di Parma, Fabbriche ducali e fortificazioni, b. 8, fasc. 1/33. Prot. no. 2065/ v. 9.3.

antiques would be to miss the fact that only a moment's equilibrium existed between an ongoing project and the mirror image it cast off onto the past. It is precisely the near-hits, not the full match, in resemblances that prove the vibrant contemporariness of the models Lauro selected, not yet aware of the final form actual structures were going to assume.

Both Lauro and Kircher as architects of a lost Rome represent the flip side to the fervent building going on under Borghese and Barberini patronage. Reconstructions as pre-constructions, as exchanges of unknowns between the past and the future, partly explain the fantastic elements in antiquarian solutions. Bustling construction sites around town saw shadow projects being started in the distant past. The anticipation of new churches, palaces, and villas to be completed offered antiquity an occasion to respond and to connect, but the time frame within which to do so was short. The opportunity for an antique to take on a relevant guise as modern occurred between the announcement of a project and its completion.

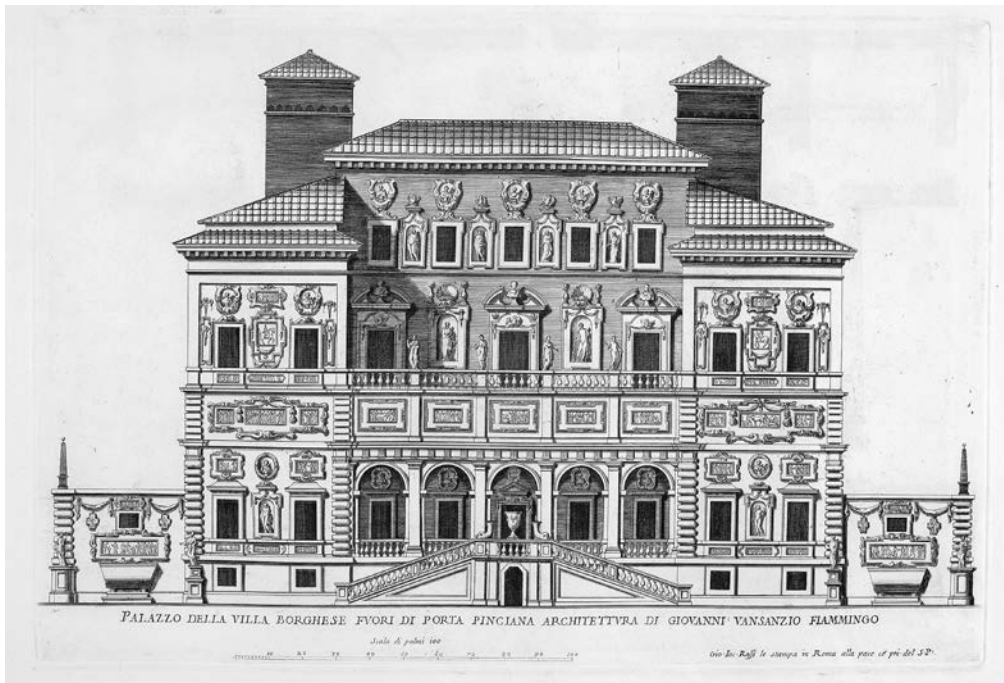
Lauro produced several last-minute reconstructions in similar parallels to famous, ongoing projects in the hope of capturing the attention of powerful patrons. A Roman example is the villa of Cardinal Scipione Borghese that was being built at the time Lauro was engraving the *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*. Scipione was the nephew of Paul V who was elected pope in 1605, when Lauro was nearing the completion of his series and no doubt had started pondering who could reimburse his expenses. The occasion to advertise his work to this new, powerful patron prompted Lauro to “transport” the villa design to antiquity in the guise of the Villa of Scipio Africanus, the venerated Roman and the cardinal's namesake (Fig. 44). Such a *paragone* reactivates the past on quite specific terms. There would be no reason for Lauro to reconstruct this unusual (and never before printed) monument were not Scipione Borghese in the “parallel” domain of contemporary Rome about to construct a casino in his *vigne* north of the city center. In homage to the papal nephew Lauro articulates an architectural analogy to the Roman general, statesman, and art collector: The look of Lauro's villa pre-shadows the casino began in 1608 by Flaminio Ponzio and completed by his assistant (Fig. 45):⁸¹ The compact block – with a terraced upper story – fashions an edifice still to be completed on one that had long disappeared. The correspondence with the illustrious, ongoing project enables us to date the engraving and, in broader terms, explains Lauro's preference for entirely vanished monuments: Only they offered an opportunity to circumvent the dictates of archaeology and to mold from imagination ancestral housing for those from whom he sought favors. The conflation of epochs violates our notion of history, of course, but it ties the past and present together with alluring precision, playing on legends, locations, names, and features. The grand villa projects of the day tempted Lauro first,



44. Giacomo Lauro, Villa of Scipio Africanus, *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* (Rome, 1615). British School at Rome Library, 611.L.5, fol. 108.

and then Kircher as we shall see, to redirect the flow of architectural history to irrigate the barren remnants of the past.

The series of Lauro's late, extraordinary designs form a clear pattern: They are *timed*. That is to say, reconstructions conceived to attract patrons occasionally seemed to disrupt the flow of history itself; a simple chronology most certainly fails to include in its scheme the countercurrents through which drifted so much of the present back into the past. A model of time that would capture the complex temporal structures that Lauro and Kircher's reinvented antiques really are still needs to be formulated. One could think of the temporal relationship as a substitution of past forms with present ones in a set-up similar to the anachronic model proposed by Nagel and Wood for Renaissance material.⁸² However, a simple substitution theory would fail to account for the allusions at play and, most importantly, for the exquisite sense of *timing* governing the reconstructions. Perhaps the obsession not with timelessness, but with the passing of time – with the series of instances that history consists of – is a characteristic of the Baroque itself. Events take precedent over eternity. A governing idea appears to have been that classical models were



45. Giovanni Battista Falda, the casino of the Villa Borghese. Etching, before 1677. Istituto Centrale per la Grafica, Rome, CL2268/6713. Courtesy of the Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo.

valid only at a specific time, in a specific context; their architectural currency was short-lived, but succinct. Under this aegis, the series of monuments in *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* is equally a series of *moments*.

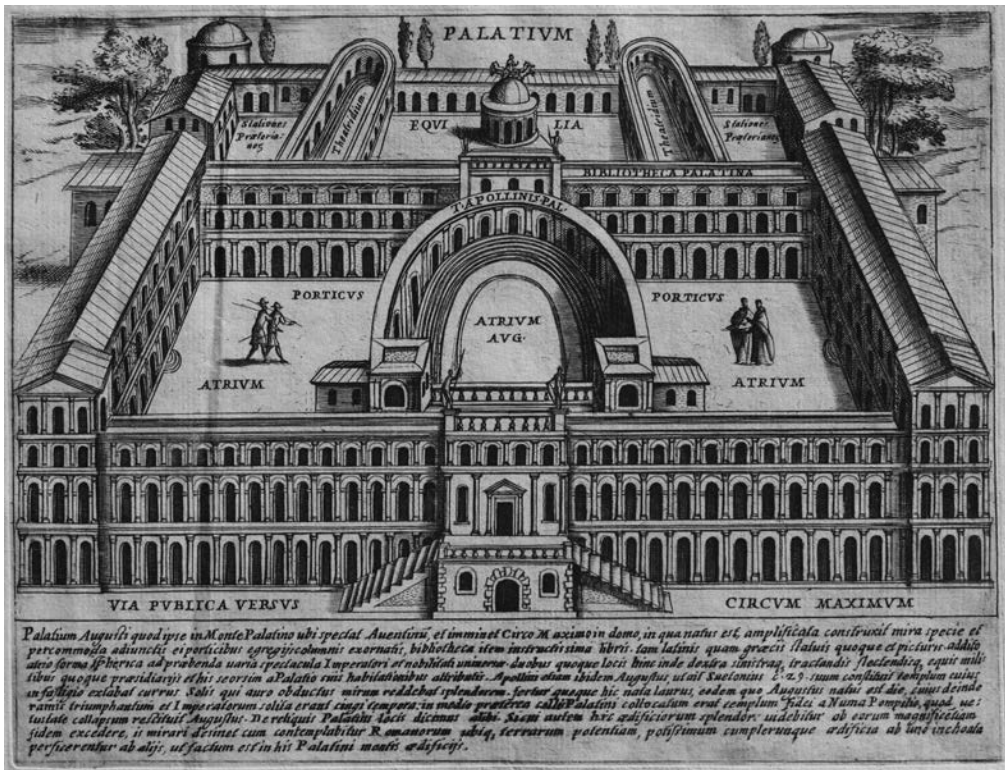
What Lauro's panorama of buildings at first glance fails to reveal is that it propagates two consonant but differently evolving architectural constellations. The fact is that Lauro, occasionally, reconstructs ancient buildings for the sole purpose of illuminating present ones, as if the antique and modern sites produced meaning only when aligned. They flared up simultaneously as if by a single beam flashed through the layers of time. "The true picture of the past flits by," as Walter Benjamin noted, and the Baroque antiquarian's job was to freeze that picture, to scan the past for monuments that would resonate with building projects underway, finding analogies hidden in the shadows of history.⁸³

But some of Lauro's printed models also had a more lasting actuality. The design named *Palatium* achieved an extraordinary success because the reconstruction combined exceptional provenance and a useful scheme in one simple formula (Fig. 46).⁸⁴ Although the type of courtly compound Lauro depicts had been envisioned earlier, he adjusts and reinvents the solution in a way that secured this design's success among absolutist monarchs fighting for attention, also architecturally, across the continent. Visually, as well as in name, Lauro

completes the transformation of the *Palatinus* into a *Palatium*, thus cementing an important architectural prototype. He projects a full-blown palace onto the archaeological site from where the “palace” etymologically derives, furnishing the modern princely abode with an unrivaled origin. Grand Baroque palace schemes, from Caserta to Vienna, came to contain the functions Lauro combined in the reinvented palatine: chapel/temple, library, theater, and a succession of courtyards in an overall symmetric arrangement. Architectural history ascribes, too quickly perhaps, European palatial designs to Renaissance models and to grand medieval monasteries, while ignoring Baroque reconstructions of the antique. The artistry might be modest and the archaeology faltering, but the simple yet captivating *conchetto* pinned down an unmatched model.

Lauro’s palace marshals the profusion of elements in the chaotic, ruinous Palatine into an ordered master plan. His version reaches a scale and a sense of completion that conclude the “development” of Palatine reconstructions in print initiated fifty years earlier in Ligorio’s map of Rome. For example, and in contrast to previous solutions, Lauro incorporates the Temple of Apollo in his compound at the short end of the courtyard, apparently in imitation of a royal chapel as in Juan de Herrera’s El Escorial, but with a specific reference to the Roman site. In the text accompanying the image Lauro quotes Suetonius’s *The Twelve Caesars* and the passage that said of Augustus that he built the Temple of Apollo in such a manner that the colonnades running out from it housed Latin and Greek libraries (2.29). In Lauro’s reconstruction the libraries that extend from the temple are even named “Bibliotheca Palatina,” providing, as we shall see, nothing less than a model for royal and imperial libraries across absolutist Europe.

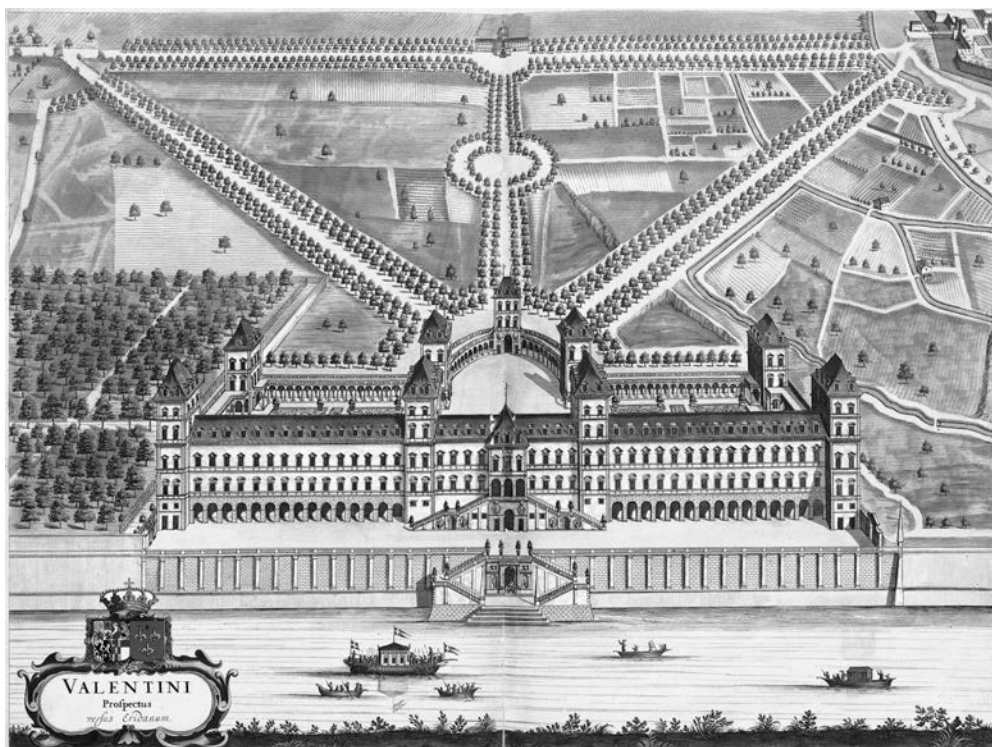
It is hard to imagine that Carlo Emanuele of Savoy did not consult Lauro’s *Palatium* when planning the new Castello del Valentino outside Turin (Fig. 47). Admittedly, the engraving from 1682, based on Giovanni Tommaso Borghonio’s drawing, captures the vision of the palace, rather than its final form.⁸⁵ The origin of this vision, however, probably goes back to 1615 when Carlo del Castellamonte took over as chief architect for the duke and submitted fresh proposals for the river residence.⁸⁶ In this year, Lauro also completed *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*, which contained not only a book dedicated to the duke, but in that book also an image of the *palatium* of Augustus. The concurrence of a Savoy-sponsored print of the reconstructed Palatine and the plans for a new palace by the Po is nothing less than striking considering the similarities between the two designs. The three-story façade, the distribution of courts, and the unusual hemicycle atrium lock the two solutions together in the expression of the ultimate sovereign’s abode. It was not the first time that the Savoy rulers resorted to printed reconstructions in their ambition to pin down a new “empire” through the scheme of palace designs. Onofrio



46. Giacomo Lauro, Palatium, *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* (Rome, 1615). The author's collection.

Panvinio's reconstruction of Emperor Domitian's arena for staging naval battles, first printed in 1566, served as a model for another of the duke's palace projects, the Castello di Mirafiori, and in the eighteenth century Filippo Juvarra modeled the vast compound of Stupinigi on prints of the reconstructed Port at Ostia, thus granting Turin a "harbor," as I have argued elsewhere.⁸⁷ On the whole, the flat plains of Piedmont offered an ideal ground for the dukedom to recast itself as the successor to the Roman Empire and to inscribe its projects in the pattern of lost ancient Rome.

But the Borgonio design recycled Rome in print so conscientiously that the reality of the palace project is almost lost. The copy is nearsighted to the point where it becomes less an interpretation of actual architecture than a retracing of the print itself. It is Lauro's depiction – as a pattern of visual coordinates – and not the complex it represents that constitutes Borgonio's true model. The architectural forms are for Borgonio mere outlines that he effortlessly translates into something else in the way he, for example, reformulates the dome of Lauro's Temple of Apollo as a circular garden parterre. In this case at least the Piedmont palace comes into existence through blueprinting. This example tells of an architectural history of the Baroque that unfolds regardless of architecture, evolving from book to book rather than from building to building, sealing the



47. Anonymous artist, project for Castello del Valentino in Turin, 1682. Engraving based on a drawing by Giovanni Tommaso Borgonio. Fondo Stampe Torino D 3. Courtesy of the Archivio Storico della Città di Torino.

triumph of the printed folio. It is a history that has forgotten its origin in architectonics – in *tehton* – and has become a *perpetuum mobile* of images, continuing to reproduce itself as representation. In this perspective history is not organized along an abstract timeline, nor does it evolve after a Darwinian model; it unfolds – quite literally – in, and *as*, an assembly of layered paper. With “the fold” – *le pli* – as the Baroque’s innermost component, according to Deleuze, the arts and sciences are subjected to a process of bending and unbending that can be understood in the very textural and concrete meaning as “the art of folding paper.”⁸⁸ Taken in its most concrete sense, then, history in the Baroque, on its deepest structural level, is perhaps not a flow at all, but a stack of folios, with designs transparently retraceable. Perhaps we can speak of the origami of time.

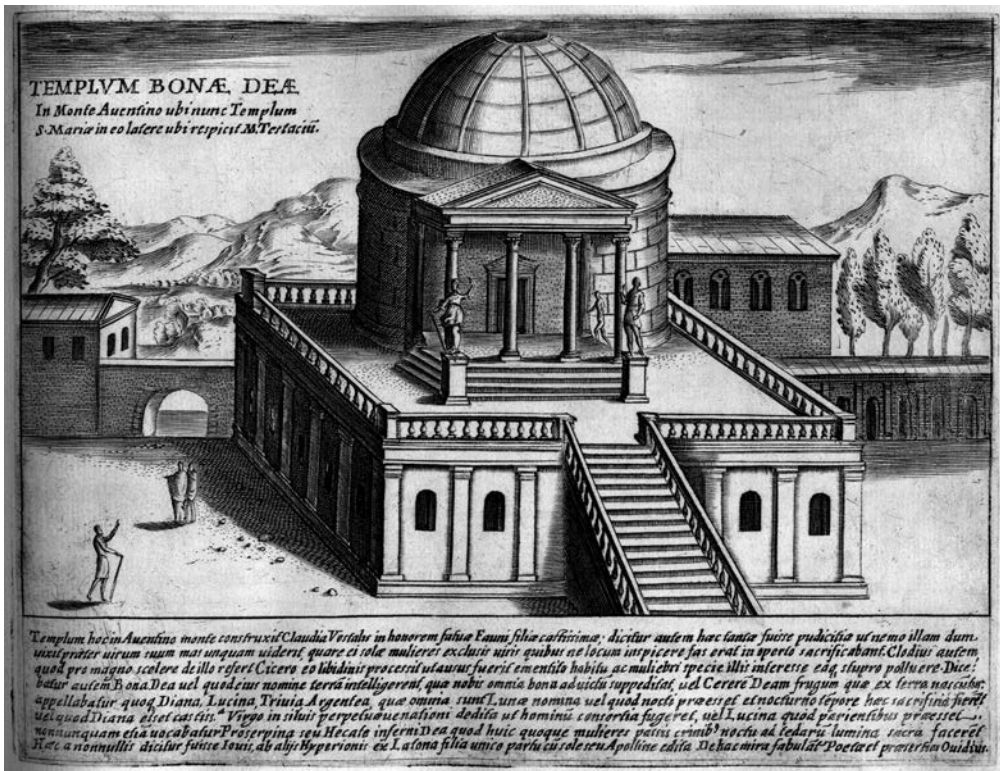
The Austrian Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach was an admirer of Lauro’s engravings and copied them in his spectacular kaleidoscope of world architecture published in *Entwurf einer historischen Architectur* in 1721. Fischer might be the first to use “history” as a principle to structure his survey, but any print connoisseur at the time would see in Fischer’s series a repetition of certain engraved types, rather than a progression of them through time. To my knowledge, no



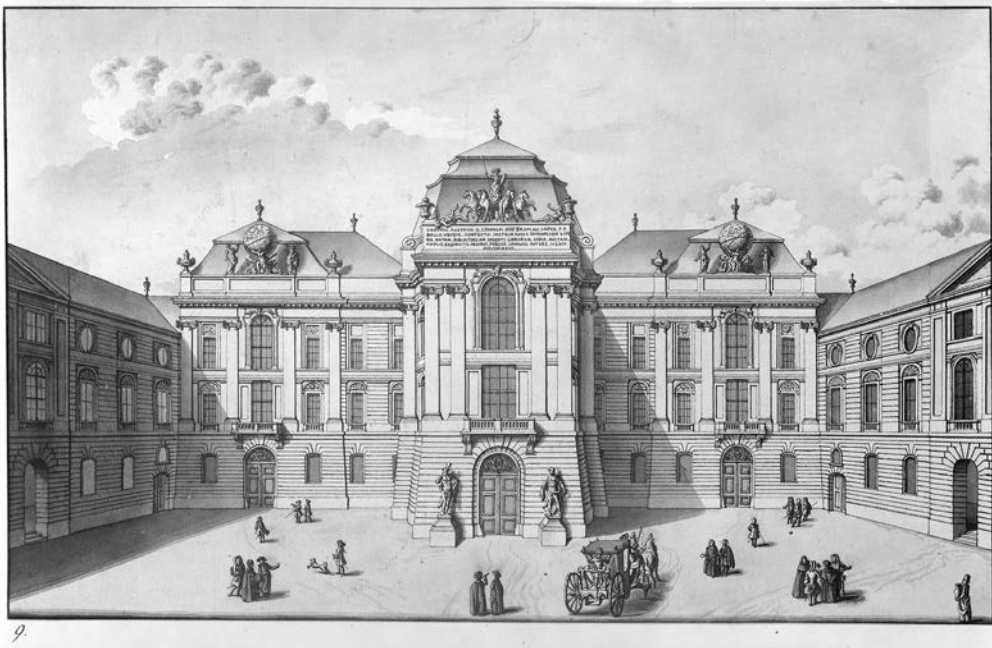
48. Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, two Roman vases and the Temple of the Good Gods on the Aventine, *Entwurf einer historischen Architectur* (Vienna, 1721). Bibliotheca Hertziana – Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Rome.

one has pointed out that Lauro's buildings reappear in two of Fischer's central designs in the *Entwurf*. Admittedly, the architecture is far from being Fischer's most eye-catching, his real subjects being ancient vases with the buildings as backdrop. Nonetheless, behind the image of two Greek urns appears Fischer's so-called *Temple of the Good Gods in Athens*, which in reality is a copy of Lauro's *Baths of Titus* in Rome, as mentioned in Chapter 1. In the next engraving, illustrating two Roman urns, Fischer likewise inserts a *Temple of the Good Gods* as scenery, but now one that originally stood on the Aventine hill and in a form borrowed from Lauro's reconstruction of the site (Figs. 48 & 49).⁸⁹

Fischer transfers Lauro's motifs not only from print to print but also from print to building, implanting a picture at the very core of an actual structure. The Habsburgs, being Holy Roman emperors based in Vienna, naturally cultivated a connection to the ancient caesars in their dynastic self-branding. Assigned with building a new library, the court architect Fischer again leafed through Lauro's compendium in the search for models. Begun in 1722, the *Hofbibliothek* ingeniously turns the existing imperial city palace into a "palatium" by Fischer's surgically precise insertion of the library wing: It divides the Habsburg's palace court in the same way that Lauro's "Bibliotheca Palatina" divided the palace of Augustus (Fig. 50). It even mirrors Lauro's tripartite sectioning of



49. Giacomo Lauro, Temple of the Good Gods, *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* (Rome, 1615). British School at Rome Library, 611.L.5, fol. 56.



50. Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, the library at Hofburg palace ("Hofbibliothek"). Etching by Johann August Corvinus, 1724. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.

the library into a central “temple” and two “colonnades” running in opposite directions. A *quadriga* on the roof – a chariot drawn by four horses – crowns not only Fischer’s *Hofbibliothek* but also Lauro’s proto-Baroque *Palatium* that the library replicates. What perfects the translation from print to stone, from Rome to Vienna, are the gilded wrought iron letters reading “Bibliotheca Palatina” on the ornate entrance gate leading to Fischer’s library.

ALTHOUGH SOME MAY READ INTO LAURO’S WILLFUL DISTORTIONS ANTIQUITY’S fading importance, this book draws the opposite conclusion: The reconstructions were fueled not by actual evidence, but by the lack of it, aiming to establish continuities that archaeology never could support. This is why reconstructions that look like Baroque buildings should be viewed not as unknowledgeable but as sophisticated codes.

A reconsideration of the prints of villas and palaces – Lauro’s sensationally updated antiques – places the designs in an altogether different league than mere *vedute* – cityscapes. Not only do they usher in a particular Baroque vision of antiquity but they translate antiquity itself into a series of signs that are in their conception ultimately Baroque – poignant, complex, playful. Lauro creates not only heraldic weapons in colored miniatures but also a kind of architectural heraldry – emblems materialized as monuments – conceived with the ideal or real patron in mind.